1: Karsten--123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
551 (1928-29)

". . . . the custom of naming women after plants is intimately connected with this belief. [JKM: Jibaros believe plants are endowed with human thoughts and feelings] The Jibaros go so far as to attribute a special sex to each kind of plant: some trees and plants are supposed to be men, others--and in fact the majority of them--are said to be women."

I: Karsten--124
551

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Consistently with this idea [JKM: Jibaros believe plants are endowed with human thoughts and feelings, as well as sex] we find, as a matter of fact, among the names of the Jibaro women such names as Maśma (manioc), Inchi (camote), Nuśsi (earth-nut), Ipyaśu (roucou) and Chiki; whereas among names of the Jibaro men we meet such as Paándama (plantain), Uŕ (chonta palm), and Maśkoa."

1: Karsten--226 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 551 (1928-29)

"As instances of Jibaro names the following may be mentioned. For men: Jawára (Tiger), Pangi (the great anaconda, Eunectes murinus), Tsungi (a mythical water monster, said to be 'the brother' of the Pangi), Yákuma (the red Howling Monkey), Kunámbi (Squirrel), Ambúsha (Owl), Ungúmi (Umbrella-bird), Máshu (Paugi, Crax elector), Etsa (Sun), Yangámi (Big Star), Cuishi (Ear), Naucha (Foot), Maikoa (the narcotic plant Datura arborea). For women: Mama (Manioc), Inchi (Comote), Mika (Bean), Nússi (Earth-nut), Ipyáku (Bixa orellana), Sua (genipa), Chiki (a root of magic power), Núngai (Earth), Nungüi (the Earth-mother), Yánua (Star), Intsa (River)."

12: Rivet--604 [3] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 551

The Jíbaros take their names either from the animal kingdom, (1) the vegetable kingdom, or sometimes mountains and rivers (2). We shall make as detailed a study of those we have been able to collect at the same time as the study of the language in a later memoir.

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1. Lubbock, op. cit., page 31.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 161.

20: Dyott--158-159 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 551

"Indians have very strange notions when it comes to applying names to each other. I have just given those of Kuashu's family, and if I now aver that those were not their names at all, it may sound a trifle confusing. Yet, as a matter of fact, that is the truth. It must be explained that Indians only call each other by nicknames which are characteristic of, or have some association with, the individual. A man guards his real name as a profound secret, and it is never divulged to anyone. According to him, he would be completely at the mercy of his enemies should they get to know it, for they would then be able to direct the evil spirits to harm him. Assume for a moment that a man is called 'Hapa,' which is quite a common name and signifies 'deer.' You can imagine how impossible it would be for anyone to describe him to the evil spirits. [159] The latter would certainly want more precise information before working their spells, for there are many deer in the forest and many individuals bearing the same nickname. This would result in so much confusion amongst the evil spirits that any man merely known by such a nickname would be quite safe from their machinations. "

20: Dyott--159 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 101, 551

"The whole question of names is one of tremendous interest, and the Jivaros differ from every other Indian tribe with whom I am familiar in the Amazon country in one most important respect: they group themselves with other tribes under a distinct tribal name--the name of Shuaro. Tribes outside this group frequently label their neighbours with nicknames, but it never occurs to them to band together under a distinct name of their own. The tribes known to the whites as Jivaros, Huambisas, Antipas and Aguarunas, are all Shuaros, and recognize themselves as such."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

This soul-stealing or capturing process

involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *nulem.A* (*Banisteria* sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[11]

The Jívaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[12] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jívaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *kakaram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own* arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father or the mother's mother are still alive, they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

Infanticide is regularly practiced only in the case of deformed children. It is accomplished by crushing the infant with a foot. Sometimes unmarried girls kill their "illegitimate" babies immediately upon birth if they have no expectation of marrying the father. Infanticide of undeformed babies by married women seems to be unheard of. Birth of twins is never a reason for infanticide.

After the first two weeks or so, the new mother returns to the garden. The work there is arduous, involving much squatting and stooping in connection with harvesting manioc and, especially, weeding. As a result, she normally leaves the infant at home in a small hammock by her bed. Since the garden work takes many hours of her day, the baby often becomes hungry and cries a great deal without getting attention. If there is a daughter approximately four years of age or more in the household, the baby's mother will ask her to tend it. When the infant cries considerably, the baby-tender will pick it up and sing to it. Not surprisingly, the typical lullaby among the Jívaro is not sung by the mother, but by a female

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Río Chiguasa region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 439 177 765 532 727 778 [825] 4. The Jívaro, their Jivaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the *tsantsa*. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 81–82; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78; and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER VI

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Compte, 1885, p. 56; and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

EPILOGUE

[114] 1. I am indebted to Padre Shukta and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.